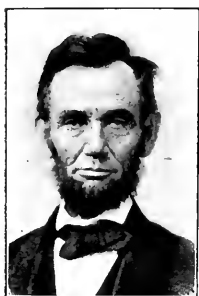


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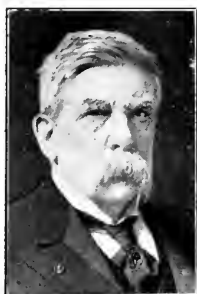
Personal Recollections of Lincoln

BY
MAJOR-GENERAL GRENVILLE M. DODGE



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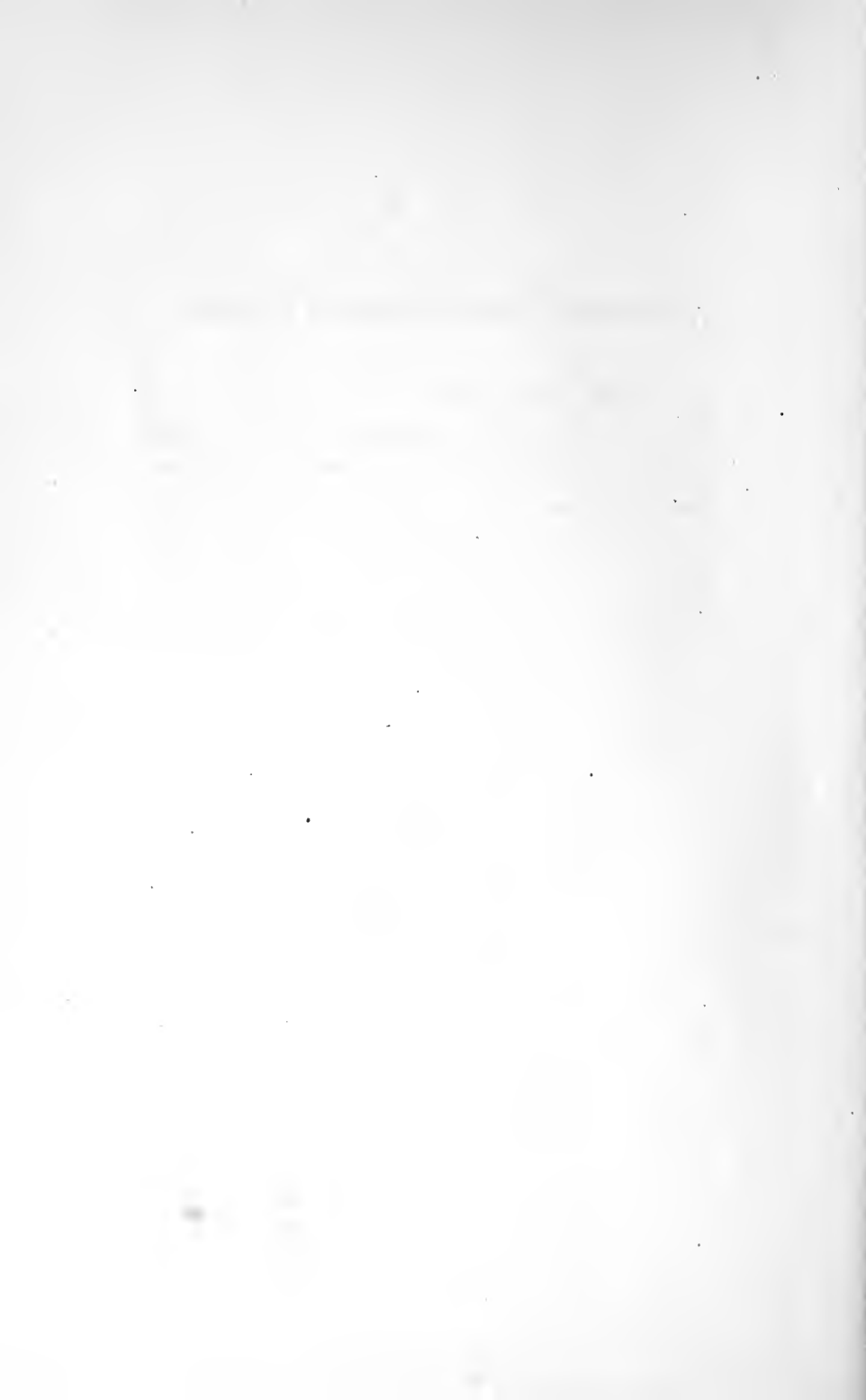


Personal Recollections of Lincoln

BY
MAJOR-GENERAL, GRENVILLE M. DODGE

An Address Before the Young Men's Christian
Association of Council Bluffs, Iowa,
on February 12th, 1911

1911:
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Personal Recollections of Lincoln

My Comrades and Friends:

If there is any person living who should be grateful for such an opportunity as this, and before such an audience, to pay his tribute to Abraham Lincoln, it is myself, for as President he raised me from a citizen to the highest command and highest rank in the army. He was my friend from the time I first met him until I helped to lay him away in Springfield, Illinois.

No one can appreciate what that friendship and what his acts were to me, unless they have experienced the benefit of it as I have.

Now, before I take up the subject I am to speak upon, I want to read to you Abraham Lincoln's own biography of himself, to show you from what a simple and low station he arose to be a great General, a great Statesman, a most just and kind ruler—the best of this era.

In a letter to Mr. F. Fell he writes:

I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin county, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia of undistinguished families—second families perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams and others in Macon counties, Illinois. My paternal grandfather,

Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham county, Virginia to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where a year or two later he was killed by Indians, not in battle but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berka county, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the new England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. We removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer county, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the state came into the union. It was a wild region with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin', and cipherin' to the rule of three."

If a straggler, supposed to understand Latin, happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much, still somehow I could read, write and cipher to the rule of three; but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the present necessity.

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty-two. At twenty-one I came to Illinois and passed the first year in Sanganaw, now in Menard county, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk war and I was elected a Captain of Volunteers—a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went into the campaign, was elected, ran for the Legislature the same year (1832) and was beaten—the only time I ever have been beaten by the people. The next and then succeeding biennial elections, I was elected to the Legislature. I was not a candidate afterward. During the Legislature period, I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was elected to the lower house

of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854 both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics, and generally on the Whig electoral tickets (making active canvasses). I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said: I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion with coarse black hair and grey eyes; no other marks or scars recollected.

My first acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln was in this city. In August, 1859, I think the 11th day, right after his great debate with Douglass. He came here to look at some property in the Riddle Tract on which he had loaned some money to Mr. N. B. Judd, the attorney for the Rock Island Railroad. Mr. Judd was also the manager in the campaign with Douglass. Mr. Lincoln came from Springfield to St. Joseph by rail, then came up the Missouri River by steamboat. He found here two old friends who had lived in Springfield before they came to Council Bluffs, W. K. M. Pusey and Thomas Officer. While he was here he was induced to make a speech in Concert Hall, and I will read you the notices of that speech and the comments.

From the Council Bluffs "Weekly Nonpareil," August 13, 1859.

HON. A. LINCOLN SPEAKS AT CONCERT HALL THIS
EVENING AT HALF PAST 7 O'CLOCK—
GO AND HEAR HIM.

Hon. Abe Lincoln and the Secretary of State of Illinois, Hon. O. M. Hatch, arrived in our city last evening, and are

stopping at the Pacific House. The distinguished "sucker" has yielded to the earnest importunities of our citizens—without distinction of party—and will speak upon the political issues of the day, at Concert Hall this evening. The celebrity of the speaker will most certainly insure him a full house. Go and hear "Old Abe."

From The Nonpareil, August 20, 1859.

ABE LINCOLN.

This distinguished gentleman addressed a very large audience of ladies and gentlemen at Concert Hall in this city, Saturday evening last. In the brief limits of a newspaper article, it were impossible even though we wielded the trenchant pen of a Babbitt, which we do not, to give even an outline of his masterly and unanswerable speech. The clear and lucid manner in which he set forth the true principles of the republican party, in the dexterity with which he applied the political scalpel to the democratic carcass—beggars of all description at our hands. Suffice it, that the speaker fully and fairly sustained the great reputation he acquired in the memorable Illinois campaign, as a man of great intellectual power—a close and sound reasoner.

The Bugle, edited by Mr. Babbitt, had this notice:

The people of this city were edified last Saturday evening by a speech from Honorable Abe Lincoln of Illinois. He apologized very handsomely for appearing before an Iowa audience during a campaign in which he was not interested. He then, with many excuses and a lengthy explanation, as if conscious of the nauseous nature of the black Republican rostrum, announced his intention to speak about the "Eternal Negro," to use his own language, and entered into a lengthy and ingenious analysis of the "nigger" question, impressing upon his hearers that it was the only question to be agitated until finally settled. He carefully avoided going directly to the extreme ground occupied by him in his canvas against Douglass, yet the doctrines, which he preached, carried out to their legitimate results, amount to precisely the same thing. He was decidedly opposed to any fusion or coalition of the Re-

publican party with the opposition of the South, and clearly proved the correctness of his ground in point of policy. They must retain their sectional organization and sectional character, and continue to wage their sectional warfare by slavery agitation; but if the opposition in the South would accede to their views and adopt their doctrines, he was willing to run for president in 1860, as southern man with northern principles, or in other words, with abolition proclivities. His speech was of the character of an exhortation to the Republican party, but was in reality as good a speech as could have been made for the interest of the Democracy. He was listened to with much attention, for his Waterloo defeat by Douglass has magnified him into quite a lion here.

Among others, I listened to his speech, which was very able, attractive and convincing. His manner of presenting his argument was very simple, his points so clear and well defined that it was easy for anyone to comprehend it. It was his method that made him so attractive as a public speaker. The crowd, as well as myself, was absolutely convinced that what he had said was true, and that his policy in the negro question in national affairs should be adopted.

During the summer of 1859 I had been engaged in making reconnoissances west of the Missouri River for the Union Pacific Railroad. I came back to Council Bluffs with my party, arriving here some time in August. Mr. Lincoln heard from someone of my explorations and surveys and that I was in Council Bluffs, and he sought me out, and on the porch of the Pacific Hotel, for two hours, he engaged me in conversation about what I knew of the country west of the Missouri River, and greatly impressed me by the great interest he dis-

played in the work in which I was engaged. He stated that there was nothing more important before the nation at that time than the building of the railroad to the Pacific Coast. He ingeniously extorted a great deal of information from me, and I found the secrets I had been holding for my employers in the east had been given to him. This interview was of the greatest importance to me. It was a milestone in my life, and Mr. Lincoln never forgot it.

While he was in Council Bluffs the citizens took him up what is now Oakland avenue, to the point where the road turns into Rohrer Park, and he was greatly impressed with the beauty of the landscape. It is one of the most beautiful views in the world. You can look up and down the broad Missouri River valley for ten miles and can look across into Nebraska and see Omaha, and from Florence to Bellevue.

As you all know, there has been a Lincoln Memorial Association organized in this city which proposes to place on that spot a monument or memorial to Abraham Lincoln, and I would advise everyone to become a member of that Association.

The property which Mr. Lincoln had in the Riddle Tract was joined by that of Mr. C. L. Vallinghan of Ohio, a very bitter rebel during the War; a man of great ability, and who was a member of Congress and spent his time fighting and opposing the administration with great bitterness—so much so that he was arrested by General Burnside and tried for treason. He was

convicted and sentenced to imprisonment during the War, I think at Fort Lafayette or some other national prison, and President Lincoln, notwithstanding the bitterness shown towards him and the attacks made upon him, commuted the sentence and ordered him sent through the lines to the South. Vallingham went through the lines, but he did not think the South treated him with proper consideration and he left there and went to Canada. He remained there until the War was over, then he came back to Ohio and ran for Governor and was defeated by over 100,000 majority. He then became, to the astonishment of everyone, a great advocate of universal suffrage for the negro. It is a singular fact that Vallingham met death by a pistol shot, the same as President Lincoln. He was trying a case in the courts of Ohio—a case of murder—and while he was showing the pistol used by the murderer he let it fall, and in falling it was discharged, wounding him, and he died from the wound.

In 1860 when President Lincoln was a candidate of the Republican party, Mr. N. B. Judd of Chicago wrote me a letter and requested me to come to Chicago and aid as far as I could in the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. I went to Chicago and was greatly surprised when I got to the convention and found that there were only two votes for Abraham Lincoln from the Iowa delegation, the rest being scattered to Seward, McLane, and others. I thought the state next to Illinois should cast their entire vote for a man of Lincoln's ability and

standing, and I did what I could to turn them to Lincoln. I was present at the conference the evening before the last day of balloting and the Pennsylvania delegation led in an agreement with other states to cast their votes on the next day for Lincoln, and that would insure his nomination. I was anxious that the Iowa delegation should vote for him which they all did with the exception of one or two. After his nomination and election, I went to Washington to the inauguration. I remember there was with me, Kasson, Allison, Gurley, David, Hoxie and others, representing Iowa. We hired a house in the rear of the National Hotel, which we made our headquarters, and which became the headquarters for the state of Iowa. We all attended the inauguration and listened to Lincoln's inaugural speech. It impressed not only us but everyone who attended. When it was over we returned to the National Hotel. Judge Denio of Springfield, a very tall man—I should say six feet four inches—was very enthusiastic in praise of Lincoln and they induced him to make a speech. He got up on a table and in describing the speech he said: "There has only one address ever been made better than that of Lincoln and that was Christ's sermon on the Mount."

During the time we were in Washington, there was great alarm and a great deal of discussion as to what the policy of the Government would be, what part Lincoln would take in it, and what his acts would be. I visited Lincoln with ex-Senator Nye and Mr. Deyer

of New York and we had a long conversation with him in relation to the conditions, what should be done, and giving him our opinions. He listened very attentively to what we had to say, and by referring to my diary I see that he replied that he was not alarmed; that he felt that he could take this country safely through the crisis. When we left we were greatly strengthened in our belief in his ability, and felt he would carry the country through, no matter what occurred.

In the spring of 1863 I was in command of the district of Corinth, Mississippi. I had just returned from the campaign to the rear of Bragg up the Tennessee Valley. There had followed me back to Corinth thousands of negroes which were a great burden to us. We had to feed them and as yet there had been no policy determined by the Government as to how they should be treated or what should be done with them. I had them on my hands and made a camp outside of Corinth for them. I put at the head of it the Chaplain of the 27th Ohio Infantry, named Alexander, and endeavored to utilize the negroes by putting them on plantations to work, so as to partially earn their living, and using them as teamsters and in camp work. I first put over them a guard of white soldiers, but the troops at that time objected very seriously to guarding negroes and there was a great deal of trouble in relation to it. Finally Chaplain Alexander came to me and said he believed, if I would let him have the arms, he

could organize two negro companies that would guard that camp much better than the white soldiers. I agreed to do this and, although I had absolutely no authority for doing so, I gave him the arms and he organized two companies of negroes, officering them with some sergeants from my command. That action caused a great deal of criticism but it worked admirably. Soon after I had armed these negroes, I received an order from General Grant to go to Washington and to report to the Adjutant General. He gave no reasons for my going there. I could not but think that they were going to call me to account for the action I had taken in arming the negroes, and I went with a good deal of anxiety until I reached Washington and reported to the Adjutant General, and he informed me that the President wished to see me and he made an appointment with President Lincoln for me. I went in and met the President, who greeted me very cordially, and learned from him that I had been called there for the purpose of aiding him in determining the location on the Missouri River where the Union Pacific Railroad should have its initial point. When I heard this it was a great relief to me. I sat there with him and we discussed that question very fully, and I saw he was thoroughly posted on the sentiment of the country locally, as every town from Sioux City to Kansas City was contending for the location. You people who were citizens here at that time possibly remember what a discussion there was in regard to

where the initial point of the Union Pacific should be located. From an engineering point of view, I pointed out clearly to the President where the line should start and what our surveys had determined. He listened and discussed this question with me for a long time. I saw from his talk and his indication that his views coincided with mine, and I have no doubt he made his decision at that time, as remembered by me, and soon after made this order:

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby fix so much of the western boundry of the State of Iowa as lies between the north and south boundaries of the United States township within which the city of Omaha is situated as the point from which the line of railroad and telegraph in that section mentioned shall be constructed.

This order was not considered definite enough by the company and on March 7, 1864, President Lincoln issued the second executive order as follows:

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do, upon the application of said company, designate and establish such first named point on the western boundary of the State of Iowa, east of and opposite to the east line of Section 10, in Township 15, south of Range 13, east of the sixth principal meridian in the Territory of Nebraska.

On March 8, 1864, he notified the United States Senate that on the 17th day of November, 1863, he had located the "Eastern terminus of the Union Pacific Railway within the limits of the township in Iowa opposite to the town of Omaha." Since then, he says, "the company has represented to me that upon additional survey made, it has determined upon the precise

point of departure of the branch road from the Missouri River, and located same within the limits designated in the order of November last." This point is near where the Union Pacific Transfer now stands.

After my talk with Lincoln in relation to the fixing of the terminal, naturally the question of the building of the Union Pacific came up. The law of 1862 had been passed but the promoters of the road had been unable to raise a single dollar to build it; they could not induce the capitalists to take hold of it, notwithstanding the fact that the United States had loaned its credit—it having the first lien on the property while the company's bonds were only second mortgage bonds. There was no one in the United States then who had enough confidence in the future of the Union Pacific Railroad to buy second mortgage bonds at any price. I discussed that question with him. I thought that the Government of the United States should build this road; it was too big a job for private enterprise. He said the Government of the United States had all it could care for then, but that he and the Government were willing to do anything they could to aid any company who would take this matter up in earnest and raise the money and go forward with it. He intimated that he was perfectly willing to have the law changed so that the Government should take the second mortgage and the promoters of the road take the first. From my visit with President Lincoln, I went to New York to see my friends who had organized the

Union Pacific road, Mr. John A. Dix, Mr. Henry Farnam, T. C. Durant, Francis Train and others, and I told them in a board meeting what President Lincoln had said and they were greatly encouraged, and made up their minds to take the matter up, and they went before Congress and in 1864 they passed the law which placed the mortgage bonds of the company ahead of the mortgage bonds of the Government, and with the Government's and other mortgage bonds they were enabled to start the road, and by 1865 they had built the road as far west as Fremont. When I came back from the army in 1866 I took charge, and in three years it was finished. It was the foresight, the nerve and determination of Abraham Lincoln that forced Congress to give the promoters of that road the first mortgage bonds and the Government taking a second lien that insured its completion. In discussing this matter President Lincoln said it was not only a commercial necessity but a military necessity for the purpose of holding the Pacific coast in the Union.

I did not see Mr. Lincoln again until in 1864. I was given confederate leave of absence at Atlanta in August 1864. As soon as I was well enough to travel General Grant invited me to visit him at City Point, where his army was lying after the great campaign of the Wilderness and the Potomac. I went to City Point and spent two weeks with General Grant. I saw there the finest of all our armies, the best equipped, the best organized, and it had everything that a soldier could

need. Rufus Ingles took us up to their sample room showing me the supplies they had ready to furnish the soldiers. General Grant said, "Dodge, if you just had this sample room it would be all you would want for your corps." I met most of the corps commanders of this army. I visited the Army of the James, and I saw the effort of General Butler, who commanded that Army, to break through the enemies' line into Richmond. I was greatly impressed as I saw the troops move up to the enemies' works and stand so steadily and receive the destructive fire of the enemy without taking cover. In the West, under the same conditions, our men would have gone to cover when they saw there was no possibility of carrying the works before them, but here they seemed to wait for an order and my anxiety for them was such that I could not help expressing my surprise that they did not either charge or go to cover. but they stood and took the murderous fire until the command to retire was given. In the West, during the time they stood there, our whole line would have found shelter behind trees or buried themselves.

In the evening, we would sit around the camp fire at City Point and General Grant, in that comprehensive and conversational way he had of describing any affair when he felt at liberty to talk freely, and which is shown so plainly in his memoirs, told me of his campaigns from the Wilderness to City Point; of many of his plans that failed to materialize for various rea-

sons which he gave. After listening several evenings to the discussion of these matters, I asked General Grant, very innocently and naturally, who was responsible for the failure of these plans, and looking at me in a humorous way, which was in his disposition, he said, "That, General, has not yet been determined." I said, "If it had been in the West, some of us would have lost our heads." General Grant was never known to publicly make a criticism of an officer.

I want to say that these were the darkest days of Grant's career in the East, for the country had commenced to talk about his campaign as not being a success, his great battles as butcheries, and there was a great deal of criticism of them. There was about as many men deserting from that army—drafted men—as there were recruits coming to him, but General Grant was certain that his next campaign would be a success.

When I was starting back to my command, General Grant requested me to call on President Lincoln. He did not give me any reason why I should go, but, of course, a request from him was an order, and I went to Washington on his steamer. There was on board this steamer, General Rufus Ingles, the Quartermaster of his Army, and Major-General Doyle, Commander of the British forces in Canada. Major-General Doyle was an old, gray-haired man. I was a young man and the one thing that troubled the General was that he could not understand why I, so young, could have the

same rank as he did—an old man sixty years of age.

When I arrived at Washington and went to the White House to call on President Lincoln, I met Senator Harlan of this state in the ante-room and he took me in to see the President. It happened to be at the hour when the President was receiving the crowd in the ante-room next to his room. Senator Harlan took me up to him immediately and presented me to him. President Lincoln received me cordially and said he was very glad to see me. He asked me to sit down while he disposed of the crowd. I sat down and waited; I saw him take each person by the hand and in his kindly way dispose of them. To an outsider, it would seem that they all got what they wanted for they seemed to go away happy. I sat there for some time, and felt that I was over-staying my time with him so stepped up and said that I had merely called to pay my respects and that I had no business, so would say goodbye. President Lincoln turned to me and said, "If you have the time, I wish you would wait; I want to talk to you." I sat down again and waited quietly until he had disposed of the crowd. When he was through, he took me into the next room. He saw that I was ill-at-ease, so he took down from his desk a little book called "The Gospel of Peace." I think it was written by Artemus Ward and was very humorous. He opened the book, crossed his legs and began to read a portion of a chapter, which was so humorous that I began to laugh and

it brought me to myself. When he saw that he had gotten me in his power, he laid the book down and began to talk to me about my visit to the Army of the Potomac and what I saw. He did not say a single word about my own command or about the West, showing his whole interest was in the Army of the Potomac. While we were sitting there talking we were called to lunch. During the meal he talked about the Army of the Potomac and about Grant, and finally led up to the place where he asked me the question of what I thought about Grant, and what I thought about his next campaign. Just as he asked the question, we got up from the table. I answered, "Mr. President, you know we western men have the greatest confidence in General Grant; I have no doubt, whatever, that in this next campaign he will defeat Lee—how, or when he is to do it, I cannot tell, but I am sure of it." He took my hand in both of his and very solemnly said, "You don't know how glad I am to hear you say that." I did not appreciate then what a great strain he was under—not until reading Welles' Celebrated Diary, showing that Lincoln had no person around him to advise him, that everything he did was from his own thoughts and initiation. It is a wonder to me that he ever got through the War so successfully. I did not know then that Lincoln's table was piled with letters demanding the change of Grant, declaring that his campaign was a failure and wanting to have a different commander sent, etc. When I was ready to leave,

I thanked President Lincoln for what he had done for me and asked if there was anything I could do for him. He said, "If you don't care, I would like to have you take my respects to your Army."

On leaving President Lincoln, I returned to my own command, or as near to it as I could get, expecting to go to the command of my corps under Sherman. I was still, physically, not very strong and Sherman said that he would not take me with him as he did not think I could stand the trip. Therefore, I was assigned to a command at Vicksburg, Mississippi, with a view of taking a command to the rear of Mobile when Sherman marched to the sea, expecting, with the aid of General Canby and the fleet to capture that place. When I reached Cairo on my way to Vicksburg, I received a dispatch from the War Department to proceed immediately to St. Louis and relieve General Rosecrans, and as soon as I was in command to notify the War Department. I learned from a private dispatch that I received from General Grant that he had requested General Rosecrans to be relieved and I to take his command, because he and the War Department did not consider that General Rosecrans had made a proper use of his command in defeating the movement of Price into Missouri, as Price had a force much smaller than that of General Rosecrans. I assumed command of that Department and Army on the second day of December. I found that there had been a great many dispatches sent to General Rosecrans to

send all the troops he could spare to General Thomas who was in a death struggle with General Hood in Nashville. I received a similar dispatch from General Halleck, at the end of which he quoted a part of Grant's dispatch to him giving the order, which was: "With such an order, Dodge can be relied upon to send all that can properly go." I learned afterwards that President Lincoln was present when this order was given, and that it was he who suggested to General Halleck that that portion of Grant's dispatch should be added, saying, it might induce Dodge to make an extra effort to help Thomas out.

When I received this dispatch, I looked my command over. There were no organized Rebel forces in Missouri, nothing but guerrillas and partisan bands who were robbing and killing, not fighting anyone, and I made up my mind that there was really no necessity for any federal troops in Missouri; therefore, I gathered together every organized regiment in that state and sent Thomas some fifteen thousand men, including two divisions of the 16th A. C. under the command of Major-General A. J. Smith. At the Battle of Nashville, this force turned Hood's left and started the defeat and destruction of Hood's Army.

I found in Missouri a state of affairs existing in no other state in the Union. It was one-half Rebel and one-half Union. It was brother against brother and father against son. There had been a great many murders in the state and they were continually being com-

mitted. President Lincoln took a great interest in Missouri. The fact that Blair, Lyons, Siegle and the Germans had held the State of Missouri in the Union against all the efforts of its Rebel Government, made it very interesting to him, and he had been endeavoring for a long time to bring it back under its own civil government. He assigned General Schofield, a very fine soldier and executive officer, to the command of the department, with a view of his carrying out this policy, but he had failed. General Schofield's policy did not satisfy either side, it was too conservative for the radicals and too radical for the half-Union men; therefore the War Department relieved him. But President Lincoln believed in General Schofield and when he left there he made him a Major General, but the State of Missouri was strong enough to stop his confirmation in the United States Senate and it was one year before he was confirmed. President Lincoln said he saw his opportunity when he received a dispatch from General Grant in 1864, asking to have General Schofield sent to the command of the Department of the Ohio at Knoxville, Tennessee, and he said he then put the pressure right on the Senate and they had to come to time and confirm him.

As soon as I had gotten well settled in the Department of the Missouri, President Lincoln wrote me a long letter. It was in no wise an order or a suggestion that I was obliged to carry out. It was simply his views of the conditions in the country; also

what *he* thought, not what he thought I ought to do, and as I looked the country over I came to his views—that there was absolutely no necessity for any military forces in the State of Missouri. That state had just elected Colonel Fletcher Governor. Colonel Fletcher had been a good soldier in the service and I made up my mind that if it was in my power I would turn over the Civil Government entirely to him, but as soon as my policy was known, both sides were opposed to it; one side because they were afraid of the guerrillas and the other side because they did not want to go under a Union soldier as a Governor. I was in a great dilemma, and wrote the War Department that I had made up my mind to give it a trial, and sent to General Halleck at Washington my plan—that was, to withdraw all the federal troops from the small towns and railroad lines and relieve them from all civil duties and concentrate them at the prominent strategic point in the state where I could handle them as a body and call on the citizens of the counties to take care of themselves. I did not get a very hearty response from General Halleck. His response was something like this: “If you do this and succeed, all right; but if you do this and fail, you must not charge any of it up to us.”

Before doing this, President Lincoln thought I should consult and get the consent of the Governor of the state; this, I had expected to do. I had to struggle with the Governor quite a long time but he finally

consented. He did not feel like assuming the responsibility of enforcing the law without a large military force behind him. There were some eight or ten thousand State Militia that had been mustered into the United States army for service in the state, and I proposed that this force should be used by the Governor to do the work which the federal troops had been performing.

I issued an order that citizens of the state, of southern sentiment must hereafter comply with the Civil authorities, and those who could not or would not would be forced to leave the state. I gave them permission to go through the lines south or north. This order also provided that any citizens of the state who harbored a guerrilla, or where any of the bands of guerrillas camped upon their land, or where they had any knowledge of any being present, must, within twenty-four hours, notify the nearest federal post. If they did not, they would be arrested and shot. This was a very drastic order and was complained of bitterly by the citizens of southern sentiment. A few days after the order was issued, a Lieutenant of one of the companies, discovered a citizen harboring some guerrillas and he took him out and shot him. This, of course, he had no authority to do. He should have arrested the man and reported the fact to the commanding officer and given him a trial, but the fact of the prompt execution of the order struck terror throughout the state, especially to those of southern

sentiment, and they felt that their lives were not safe, and thousands of them emigrated immediately to Idaho and Montana, while others who remained entered protests to the War Department, and there was a general complaint and denunciation of the order. I was called upon immediately by the War Department for an explanation of this officer's acts. Before I had gotten the order, however, I had investigated the case and found that the party he had killed was without question guilty, and I wrote the War Department that, while it was a lack of judgment on the part of the officer—he thought he had the right to kill the man immediately—still, it had been of great benefit in bringing peace to the state, and I felt that it was not necessary to take any further action in the matter and assured them that it would not be repeated. It was wonderful how quickly the state quieted down and how many reports went into the different posts of guerrillas or partisan bands, or even people suspected, so that as soon as they found that they did not have the support of the southern sympathizers and could not quarter upon them without being reported, they immediately left the state.

These complaints, of course, finally reached President Lincoln but it was a long time after they occurred. In the meantime Governor Fletcher, who was taking great satisfaction in the rapidity with which the state had been brought under Civil Government, had written a letter to President Lincoln stating that

the order had had a wonderful effect, and that the state was then as quiet as any other state in the Union. Some of the members of Congress from Missouri called on President Lincoln, quite a long time after this occurred, and still demanded a repeal of the order but President Lincoln showed them Governor Fletcher's letter and he said that, under the conditions, he would not interfere in the matter.

Years afterwards when I went West, to the station opposite Boise on the Union Pacific Railroad, where they were investigating the question of putting in some irrigation works, and while my car was standing on the siding one day there came up from the Boise Valley a delegation of citizens, who loaded my car with fruit. I was absent and did not see them, but they told the station agent that they were citizens whom I had driven out of Missouri and that at one time they would have hung me if they could have gotten hold of me, but now they were thankful for the movement, and brought me this fruit with their compliments.

Within thirty days I had left the Department in perfect peace and had gone on to the plains to make the Indian campaigns.

While I was in command of the State of Missouri, there was hardly a day passed but what I saw some evidence of President Lincoln's kindness. The appeals that would go to him from the people whose sons or themselves were in trouble, would always have his attention and he would give them one of his cards, with

a little note written on the back to me, asking if something could not be done for this person. He disliked to have anyone executed, shot or imprisoned. When I went into Missouri, I found the prisons full and over-flowing with prisoners of War and citizens who had been taken up for treason, etc. I therefore proposed to send them through the line or to release them and I so notified the War Department. In my letter to them I said it was a good deal easier to fight them than to feed them, but they seemed to think that the policy that had been maintained there of holding these citizens in prison should be continued. When the Indian campaigns began, some of these prisoners made known to me that they were willing to enlist in the army to go on the plains. I reported this to the War Department and received authority to organize five regiments known as the United States Volunteers, known on the plains as the "Reconstructed Rebs." This emptied the prisons. Nearly all of the confederate prisoners of war were willing to enlist to fight Indians and only took the oath for that purpose, declining to take it to fight against their own people and we did not require it of them. These regiments served up the Missouri River, in Minnesota against the Indians there and were in the campaigns on the plains in 1865 and 1866. They made splendid soldiers and endured great hardships. Afterwards a great many of them went down on the Union Pacific and into the States of Idaho and Montana, where there are now a

great many of the members of those regiments, many of whom are prominent citizens.

The night before the assassination of President Lincoln, a lady called upon me who had been to Washington to see President Lincoln. Her son had been arrested and tried for murder as a guerrilla. He had been in one of the guerilla bands which had been caught and it was proved that he had murdered two or three convalescent Union soldiers. He was sentenced to be hung in a very short time. This lady obtained an interview with President Lincoln and the night before the day of the assassination, she came to my office with the President's card, with a little note on the back of it to me, which said, "My dear General Dodge: Is it possible for you to do anything for this poor woman who is in so much trouble?" I took the card, but I did not see my way clear to comply with her request. If I had commuted the sentence of that guerrilla, after the great number of men who had been murdered by these guerrillas, it would have brought down upon me a great criticism from the Union people in the State. But I treated the lady nicely and told her that I would consider it. She thought that card was an absolute pardon for her son, and was very indignant and said she would communicate with the President immediately.

That night about midnight I received a dispatch from the War Department notifying me of Lincoln being shot. I was also cautioned about making arrange-

ments so that there would be no uprising in the State. They felt that such a tragedy might cause an uprising of the Union men against the citizens of southern sentiments on account of the bitterness existing there. I brought into the city of St. Louis, such troops as were near and issued an order suspending all business and ordered all the citizens, both Federal and Rebel, to remain in their houses and prohibited any gatherings or crowds on the streets. I found that the southern people were as greatly distressed as those of the North. The streets of St. Louis were deserted for two days and there was nothing but sorrow exhibited on both sides.

The lady called the next day and asked me for the card, she desiring to keep it as a memento, and no doubt giving up all hopes for her son, but I did not have it in my heart, after Lincoln's death, to carry out the order of the court and therefore commuted the sentence to imprisonment.

At the time of Lincoln's funeral, I was ordered to go to Springfield with my staff and troops. I went to Springfield on the day of the funeral and took my position in the procession. It was the saddest sight of my life. Those streets were lined with thousands and thousands of people, evidently in great distress and sorrow, and at every step we could hear the sobs of the sorrowing crowd and every little while a negro would come out and drop down on his knees and offer a prayer. There was hardly a person who was not in

tears, and when I looked around at my troops I saw many of them in tears. As we paid the last rites to this great man the sorrow was universal, for it was one of the greatest calamities of this or any other nation.

Among all the public men in the funeral procession, no grief was keener than that of his War Secretary, Edwin M. Stanton. None of them had tested, as had Edwin M. Stanton, the extraordinary resources of the strong chief. It was fitting, therefore, that he, as passed the strong heroic soul away, should pronounce its eulogy: "There lies the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen." Why the most perfect ruler the world has ever seen? Because he was the perfect ruler of himself.

Now, in closing I am going to read you a letter that has never been published, which shows the part of Lincoln that has often been discussed:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, Sept. 4, 1864.

Eliza P. Gurney,

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND:—I have not forgotten—probably never shall forget—the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath afternoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all, it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliances on God. I am much indebted to the good Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations, and to no one of them more than to yourself. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this, but God knows best and has ruled otherwise. We shall acknowledge His wisdom, and our own error

therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best light He gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great ends he ordains. Surely he intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make and no mortal could stay.

Your people—the Friends—have had, and we are having, a very great trial. On principle and faith, opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma some have chosen one horn and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I could and can in my own conscience under my oath to the Lord. That you believe this I doubt not, and believing it I shall still receive for our country and myself your earnest prayers to our Father in Heaven.

Your Sincere Friend,

A. LINCOLN.

A more beautiful letter it would be impossible to write.

When the second nomination of Lincoln was about to be made, the people who were dissatisfied and disgruntled at what he had done, many who thought he was not radical enough or aggressive enough in the War, called a convention to meet in Cleveland in May of 1864.

The movement was supported by men of prominence in the party, dissatisfied and disappointed with the conducting of affairs, and their action caused much anxiety. This convention nominated for President John C. Fremont and for Vice President John Cochran, and instead of there being thousands in attendance at the convention, as was expected, there were only about 400.

A friend of Mr. Lincoln seeing this, hastened to the White House to impart it. Lincoln, thereupon, reached for his well thumbed Bible and opening it at First Samuel 22; 2, read: "And everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him and he became a Captain over them, and there were with him about four hundred."

Even the London Punch, that criticised and ridiculed Mr. Lincoln during his administration, changed and after his death said it was sorry and regretted its course, holding that it was a remarkable man who could indict in a car on a train on his trip to Gettysburg that remarkable tribute so strong in English, so expressive, eloquent and sympathetic, and said that his Gettysburg speech had changed their whole course and opinion of Lincoln.

Lincoln was a man of keen vision, of almost prophetic ken. He penetrated almost intuitively the thin veneer of patriotism which often covered self. He was not deceived by the wretched shams and pretexts behind which men, under the pretense of serving their country, sought upon to see, in all its naked deformity, the utter selfishness of self, and yet, notwithstanding it all, he believed and rightly believed, that in the main and on the average the plain people wanted to be, intended to be, and were, right.

With his trained reasoning faculties, he reached conclusions which were far in advance of the general

thought of the people; hence, in thought, in speech, in the discussion of great fundamental principles Lincoln was a radical; and yet in administration, in the discharge of executive duties, where he was called upon to act for others, he was a conservative. He said to Greeley, Chase and Stevens and others of like fiery temper and spirit, "You are theoretically right but practically wrong. If I am to lead these people I must not separate myself from them. Whatever my individual thoughts may be, whatever the logical conclusions of my mind, based upon the premises which I admit to be sound and true, nevertheless I must not separate myself from the people. If I am to lead, I must stay with the procession."

Lincoln embodied in the mind of the people two great issues that were really only one—the preservation of the American Union and the abolition of slavery. At the root of both there lay a moral principle and both appealed with overwhelming force to sentiment. They were so plain, so vividly defined, that no sophistry could obscure them, no shrewd debater reason them away. And so, back of him were the masses of the people, their eyes fixed with pathetic faith and loyalty upon that tall, gaunt, stooping, homely man, who to their minds meant everything that makes a cause worth dying for.

Lincoln's great ability, his pure administration, his kind but firm hand has disarmed all criticism, and to-

day no one names him but in words of respect and love, and his name the world over, is coupled in the trinity—Washington, Lincoln and Grant, the creators and saviors of the Union.





